/941 cont./

leather strap so tightly around him that he cannot move his limbs, and leave him lying a half day or longer at the smaller exit, the so-called alkin. At the same time, of course, he gets nothing to eat or drink. This effective measure never fails. Finally, the guard's assistants have the habit of suddenly emerging singly in front of the Great Hut with the leather strap in hand simply to intimidate the people in the dwellings by their threatening attitude. Their appearance is not without effect on the children.

They, as well as the winefkpa, have a definite call, familiar to everyone. It is a short ho ho ho. . . , repeated several times on the same high tone. At night the guard gives this a particularly threatening inflection to warn old and young against approaching in the dark.

The two huts, as well as the guard duty, have now been prepared. Meanwhile the individual families have arrived at the site of the festivities and have built their dwellings. There is nothing more to hinder the opening of the planned ceremony following the traditional arrangements.

c. Procedure of the Ceremony

All previous reports have made it sufficiently clear that the initiation of Yamana youth is by no means merely training for the actual candidates. Far beyond that it is also an affair for adults, offering all kinds of special features. This latter subordinate goal does not overshadow the main goal, nor does it hinder its attainment. Rather, both, at first glance, seem necessarily bound together, although basically they are far apart. It takes little effort for each participant to separate the arrangements and activities that serve either the one goal or the other, but in order to /942/ obtain an over-all picture of the variety making up the ceremonial celebration and to take account of all the details, I have arranged them in the following report according to general points of view and describe them as individual aspects of the whole. Thus they can be definitely judged and fairly evaluated according to their individual worth.

In this connection, of course, the treatment of the candidates takes up the most space. It deserves this for its own sake. For

X881 /896 cont./
869 it were. A person who disregards what we tell him, who becomes
776 lazy and bad, will have something like earth sticking to him. This something will make him weak, dull, tired, and he will die in a very short time. Everyone who reveals the happenings in the čiéxaus hut can expect the same [fate]. Our ancestors used the following example: 'Behold the cormorants! There they sit pressed close together on high rocks along the shore. They are also conducting their čiéxaus. They discuss their way of life and their duties, each one adjusts to them. Thus they live together (320)

320. This means that their life together is possible and their living assured on the basis of dutiful, definite conduct. -- It is extraordinary for the Yamana that reference is made here to an example from the animal kingdom.

and find their food. When their young leave the nest as fledglings, they at first follow their parents for a while. Later they enter their čiéxaus, where they are taught and are attentive. If a young one stays behind and does not join its parents, it does not find anything to eat by itself. It does not learn properly how to obtain food; it becomes weak, cannot follow the others [the adult birds], and soon perishes. After all, they must be obedient and follow everything faithfully, then their life is secure and they have enough to eat, they are gay and happy. In the same way the ušwála must let themselves be taught by the old people and must adjust to everything [to all regulations].'

X881 "But a person who pays no attention to this is, as we have
869 said, punished by Yetáita /897/ and taken away by him [through
776 an untimely death]. It is good to implant the fear of him in the candidates! For now they will more faithfully follow all the
198 teachings and will live as good, industrious human beings. That is why they are often threatened with this villain! Finally the ušwála believe that he is really present. The old people strengthen this belief of the candidates by all kinds of delusions. For example, they pretend that Yetáita makes his voice heard (321). This

321. This is done in the following way. A man places himself flat on the ground and leans his face

X881 /897 cont./
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against his hands which rest on his little fingers and encircle his mouth. This creates a small hollow space into which he yells a long drawn-out, howling sound. At a slight distance this sound seems to come from the interior of the earth.

Sometimes this howling is interrupted by a quick drumming on the ground with both fists. While this hocus-pocus is going on, all those present remain motionless. Beforehand the heads of the candidates have been covered with a scrap of leather.

helps to increase their fear and terror. Later, if they take part in an initiation, they plainly see (322) that such calls only come

322. Now, as adults, they are fully qualified participants who may carefully examine everything that takes place.

from the men, who in this way conjure up Yetájta for the úwala. This realization does not destroy anything for them now, for they are already on the right path, which they will follow in the future also" (323).

323. This is supposed to mean that the fear and terror implanted earlier in the candidate through the appearance of this evil spirit were not without effect, but put him so firmly on the right path that he will not deviate from it even when he recognizes the true nature of this scary device.

X881 I should like to insert here a remark for which I am indebted
869 to old Whaits. He pointed out that one must respectfully esteem
776 all the decrees of the čiexaus. "A person who does not hold this opinion is devoured by Yetájta who sits in the earth. We teach outsiders this wholesome fear so that they will not approach the Great Hut; we threaten that they will be seized by this spirit.

/910 cont./

881 577 513 [152] the individuals have calmed their inner excitement at the dances each evening. These are the occasions when everyone is free to get up and, to the accompaniment of the dance movements, loudly pour out his feelings and impulses. Sometimes this is done with profound, trembling emotion. Accordingly, it is late before those present can lie down to sleep, but they can do so earlier in case they have spent the day in tiring work and hunting. When quiet has been restored after the final lively dance movements and everyone has resumed his place, the leader, with a [198] vigorous, drawn-out hṓ ho ho ho hṑ, gives the sign for the night's rest. They all join in the same call and, in a somewhat softer voice, repeat this hṓ ho ho ho hṑ. Immediately most of them wrap themselves in their covers and lie down to sleep. One or another of them will remain seated if he feels so inclined and continue the customary song in a low, soft voice.

881 513 Their sleep is not entirely quiet, however, for the song may never cease entirely and the many people lie close together. Our Yamana are used to this. In the early morning the candidates are awakened by their sponsors and immediately sit up again. After another one and a half to three hours, about six o'clock, the adults get up. The leader himself gets up when he thinks it is time and again gives the long, lusty call hṓ ho ho ho hṑ which he made the night before as the signal for going to sleep. At this summons the others also end their rest (333). The general move-

> 333. This happened at my first initiation in accordance with the old custom. Two years later, lively Santiago awakened the candidates, including myself, at about five o'clock with a thundering voice. The adults were allowed to sleep for another good hour, while a few women arranged the feeble fire.

881 515 ment in the Great Hut rouses the last sleepers. Everyone immediately gets up, straightens his sleeping-place, and squats down again. /911/ He rubs the sleep out of his eyes with his finger and then combs his hair. This is the whole of the morning toilette. Formerly most of the people went outside to a brook and washed, the uíwaala being accompanied by their sponsors. Nowadays all